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# Publics and Diplomats in the Global Communications Age

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**50** United States Advisory Commission  
on Public Diplomacy  
1948-1998

October 1998

To the President, Congress, and the American People:

The Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy is pleased to submit our 1998 report, "Publics and Diplomats in the Global Communications Age." As the title implies, we believe that the gigantic increase in global communications (along with the increase in democratization and free markets) makes foreign publics far more important than ever and requires that we use our unparalleled skills to "inform, understand and influence" those more important publics.

We also believe that the United States has a unique "edge," which it would be foolish not to use since no country has better technology nor a better message (democracy, free markets, human rights and multi-ethnic society).

Two other matters should be highlighted. First, in the Preface, we point out how Saddam Hussein used public diplomacy effectively when he changed the focus of the world media from his weapons of mass destruction to the suffering of Iraqi children, a campaign that harmed our ability to put together the same coalition in 1998 we had assembled in 1991. This report includes a number of recommendations on how to deal with such problems in the future.

Second, we believe there is a unique opportunity to couple the consolidation of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency with a long overdue "reinvention" of our foreign policy establishment for the Information Age. Such reinvention should strengthen our ability to effectively take advantage of our "edge" by using public diplomacy.

We hope that this report will be useful to the President, Congress, and the American people, in developing and implementing a more effective diplomacy in the global communications age.



Lewis Manilow  
Chairman  
Illinois



Maria Elena Toranzo  
Florida



Hank Brown  
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## P R E F A C E

In 1991, the United States assembled and led one of the most diverse coalitions in history to liberate Kuwait and compel Saddam Hussein to yield to the combined power of force of arms and a strong international consensus.

In 1998, Saddam provoked another crisis by blocking UN inspectors' access to suspected storage sites for weapons of mass destruction. This time, unlike 1991, Saddam also embarked on a concerted campaign to divert world media attention from his weapons to images of sick and hungry Iraqi children. That campaign, an especially effective use of public diplomacy, was successful. It provided a sufficient rationale — or excuse — for many of our former allies to refuse our call for decisive action against the Iraqi leadership this time.

Saddam's success vividly demonstrates the importance of public diplomacy — understanding, informing, and influencing key foreign publics. The National Security Council had established an ad hoc committee to study the challenge of Iraq's public diplomacy campaign, but the committee was slow to appreciate its seriousness. Once recognized, the committee had little power to direct a credible response.

The Commission believes that American skills, technology, and message are such that we should be able to achieve our goals in the future. The recommendations in the following pages specify the steps that should be taken to do so.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Part 1 - Introduction

In this age of information and democratization, of Internet and globalized markets, publics are far more powerful than ever. Publics, through elections, demonstrations, and nongovernmental organizations can have a profound effect on their governments' foreign policy. Thus, as the United States pursues its interests abroad, it needs to "understand, inform, and influence" those foreign publics — i.e., it must operate an effective public diplomacy program.

This report is designed to help the United States improve that program. The Commission believes that our country has a substantial "edge" in public diplomacy, both in reaching those publics through advanced information technology and in our message (democracy, human rights, free markets, multi-ethnic society), and that it would be foolish, if not tragic, to squander that edge.

Our preface deals with the Iraq crisis of 1997-98 and how we failed to use that edge, and thus contributed to our failure to reconstitute the alliance that we had in 1991. Other nations and other leaders are sure to learn from this example and will quickly become skillful at portraying the United States in unflattering terms whenever interests clash.

The Commission does not believe that all issues can be solved by public diplomacy, nor that public diplomacy is more important than military power, economic strength, or traditional government-to-government diplomacy. However, the Commission does believe that most important issues have major public diplomacy aspects, and that our national interests will be better served by the effective use of public diplomacy strategies.

## Part 2 - Comments on Specific Recommendations

This report contains ten specific recommendations. Recommendations 1 through 4 — on a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD), an Interagency Coordinating Committee in the National Security Council, special funding, and a reserve corps for crises situations — provide a national policy on

public diplomacy, an entity to direct that policy, and the money and people to assist during crises.

Recommendations 5 and 6 involve the structure of public diplomacy within a consolidated State Department, USIA, and ACDA, as proposed in the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 (H.R. 1757). The Commission strongly supports that consolidation but urges taking advantage of this unique opportunity to truly reinvent the new State Department for an era where speed, flexibility, and public outreach are indispensable.

Recommendation 7 concerns training and professional development for diplomats in the Information Age. The Commission finds it astonishing that the State Department's professional diplomats can spend their entire careers without ever being trained in how to deal with publics and their perceptions.

Recommendation 8 supports using commercially available "VSAT" (Very Small Aperture Terminal) technology to connect embassies to the Internet, improve their telephonic and data transmission lines and provide video conferencing facilities, where that is not now available, or where the local phone system is unreliable, or where there is a significant cost saving.

Recommendations 9 and 10 involve public opinion research and the need for additional funds — so that foreign policy organizations can understand the publics that they are trying to influence — and where the research office should be located within a consolidated Department of State for maximum effectiveness.

The only recommendations requiring new funding are numbers 3 (\$5 million contingency for crises), 8 (\$25 million for technology), 7 (\$500,000 for public diplomacy training), and 9 (\$5 million for increased research) which total \$35.5 million. The Commission believes this money can be allocated by the Office of Management and Budget immediately, or as part of the USIA/State Department consolidation. It should be compared to the fact that USIA has reduced its budget by almost \$400 million or 29 percent since 1993.



## R E C O M M E

- 1 | The President should issue a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD), which would formalize the central role of understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics in American foreign policy and set a national priority to secure the support of foreign publics — not just governments — for U.S. policy initiatives.
- 2 | The President should establish a permanent interagency coordinating body for international public information, to be chaired by a new Special Assistant to the President for Public Diplomacy, at the National Security Council.
- 3 | The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) should allocate up to \$5 million for public diplomacy during crises, including expanded international radio and television broadcasts.
- 4 | The State Department and USIA should establish a reserve corps of trained public diplomacy specialists for deployment during crises.
- 5 | Immediate action should be taken by the President, the Congress, and the Secretary of State to restructure the State Department and USIA, with public diplomacy as a core component of a new, "reinvented" foreign affairs organization.

# N D A T I O N S

- 6 If the first five recommendations are implemented, then the political, economic, and public diplomacy Foreign Service personnel "cones" should be merged, so that there is public diplomacy input on all issues and at all levels. If not, then public diplomacy should be kept in a separate personnel "cone," lest the former USIA officers be absorbed by State's traditional concerns.
- 7 OMB should allocate \$500,000 to the Department of State's National Foreign Affairs Training Center to provide public diplomacy training for all Foreign Service Officers. Such training and skills should be made a criterion for advancement to senior levels of the Foreign Service as well as for the selection of American ambassadors.
- 8 OMB should allocate \$25 million for the continuation and expansion of USIA's pilot project, using the commercially available "VSAT" (Very Small Aperture Terminal) technology to connect embassies to the Internet, improve their telephone and data transmission lines, and provide video conferencing facilities.
- 9 OMB should allocate an immediate increase of \$5 million for overseas opinion polling and attitude research.
- 10 As part of any overall foreign affairs restructuring, the Secretary of State should maintain the current USIA Office of Research and Media Reaction as a separate organizational element reporting directly to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy.



# People & Power

## America's Edge

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*"As we move from the Industrial to the Information Age, from the Cold War world to the global village, we have an extraordinary opportunity to advance our values at home and around the world."*

— President Clinton

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People have more power to influence and change their governments than ever before. The number of societies in democratic transition is unprecedented. People are holding their governments to greater standards of accountability. From the streets of Sarajevo and Gaza to the roads of Pristina and Jakarta, what people in other nations think about the United States matters, and what they then *do* as a result of those thoughts is vitally important for our nation's interests.

In a world of more powerful publics, engaging the right audience at the right moment on issues important to the U.S. can resolve conflicts that might lead to war, create markets for profitable trade, and deal with the transnational problems of terrorism, drugs, crime, disease, and the environment. More and more, that "right audience" is not just a country's foreign ministry, but is found in the universities, in the press, in

legislatures, in the courts, and in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). That right audience is found everywhere there are groups of citizens who have organized to affect the governance of their nation.

Traditional government-to-government diplomacy remains crucial, as does military strength, adequate intelligence, and economic power. These are what create a peace agreement in Bosnia or a framework agreement with North Korea. But only public support for these agreements will sustain them.

The United States has enormous capacity to speak directly to these diverse audiences and influence their decisions. Our success as a multicultural civil society, the timeless appeal of American ideals, and our experience with the rule of law, democracy, and free markets give us an edge in a more open and competitive world.



Joseph Nye has called this ability to set the agenda and shape preferences "soft power." Soft power strengthens American diplomacy through attraction rather than coercion. Our interests are enhanced to the extent people speak English and are familiar with our legal, financial, and information systems. Democracy and free markets can lead to better trading partners and governments less inclined to war and terrorism.

Millions of people all over the world have increased their power over their lives and their governments by joining NGOs. Such organizations are involved in a myriad of things, from neighborhood issues to social services to national matters such as human rights and election monitoring, and in lobbying or demonstrating for their causes. Russia, for example, which under Communism rarely allowed independent NGOs, now has thousands of them.

NGOs are becoming very powerful internationally. In more and more countries, their opposition or support can determine policies that affect our national interests. When they assemble at large conferences such as Geneva (land mines), Rio de Janeiro and Kyoto (environment), and Rome (permanent international criminal court), they can be more important than any single country.

This increase in organized "people power" is favorable to the United States because it helps foreign countries develop into civil societies which are more like our own and thus more familiar and more likely to be friendly. Moreover, it presents our diplomats with a great opportunity to influence these NGOs because of our experience in dealing with similar organizations for over 200 years.

For example, consider our 1998 conflict with Saddam Hussein, and imagine if international and foreign NGOs had spoken out on his abysmal human rights record and his use of environmental

terror. They could have cast doubt on his effort to present himself as the protector of sick children. It is true that NGOs prize their independence and don't like to be manipulated but it is also true that they care about their goals and should be challenged to support them.

NGOs can say and do things that individual governments often cannot. They also can provide useful information and guidance on complex issues. At a time when the United States and other countries are reducing diplomatic personnel, diplomats more and more will depend on NGOs for advice, information, and support. Only governments can represent national interests, but good working relationships between diplomats and NGOs can support those interests — and no country should be better at this than the U.S.

#### *Presidential Decision* — Active

Recognizing the increased power of people in their governments around the world, the President and Secretary of State have announced their desire



Africans reach out to President Clinton in Ghana.  
March 23, 1998



Indonesian students call for reform.  
March 12, 1998



to put public diplomacy "at the heart of U.S. foreign policy." A Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) is needed to explain the reasons for this policy and provide central direction for its key operational consequences.

The PDD would affirm that public diplomacy is vital to the national security of the United States, that information is as important to U.S. interests as political, economic, and military power, and that policies will be successful in the

Information Age only if they are supported by foreign publics as well as governments.

A PDD also is essential to provide the Presidential leadership and support that is needed to guide genuine State Department reinvention and restructuring of the foreign affairs agencies.

The Commission welcomes the NSC's current efforts to draft a framework document that would give higher priority to international public information and create an interagency coordinating committee to deal with foreign threats and crises. This is a much needed initiative. The document should be promulgated as a PDD and be broadened to strengthen the U.S. government's ability to understand, inform, and influence foreign publics on all matters vital to the national interest.

Because the support of foreign publics is so critical to the success of any policy, the Commission believes it is essential that such a PDD incorporate several broad principles: (1) that assessments of foreign public opinion impact be required when policy options are considered; (2) that communications strategies be developed in concert with the implementation of policies; and (3) that major speeches and policy announcements address relevant public diplomacy implications. This does not mean that foreign opinions should determine U.S. policies. But understanding the implications of foreign public opinion and winning the support of foreign publics is necessary for successful policies. **The Commission recommends that the President issue a Presidential Decision Directive (PDD), which would formalize the central role of understanding, informing, and influencing foreign publics in American foreign policy and set a national priority to secure the support of foreign publics — not just governments — for U.S. policy initiatives. (Recommendation #1)**



#### Interagency Coordinating Committee

Although a PDD will state the intent to include public diplomacy as a central component of the formulation and execution of US foreign policy, it also must be implemented operationally in the official foreign affairs community.

**The Commission recommends the formation of a permanent interagency coordinating body for international public information to be chaired by a new Special Assistant to the President for Public Diplomacy at the National Security Council. (Recommendation #2)**

Institutionalizing the coordination of international public information activities at the NSC level will do much to promote active information strategies. An interagency committee would consider global as well as regional implications of our foreign policy. It would bring public diplomacy specialists into the process of message formulation, not just message delivery. It would ensure the consideration of what U.S. Ambassador to Morocco Edward Gabriel calls "street strategy" in the handling of foreign policy. Such a coordinating committee, the Commission believes, would have made a major positive difference in the 1998 Iraq crisis.

#### Crisis Management

The Commission recognizes that there are special needs which arise in crisis situations. Rapid deployment of human, technological, and financial public diplomacy resources is critical to the success of crisis management strategies.

**The Commission recommends that the Office of Management and Budget allocate up to \$5 million for public diplomacy during crises, including expanded international radio and television broadcasts. (Recommendation #3)**

Budget and personnel reductions in recent years have eliminated much of the flexibility that once allowed agencies to "rob Peter to pay Paul" in times of unanticipated emergency. Similarly, the ability of State and USIA to assign personnel to crisis support positions quickly has been limited by staff reductions and the press of competing priorities.

**The Commission also recommends that the State Department and USIA establish a reserve corps of trained public diplomacy specialists for deployment during crises. (Recommendation #4)**

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*"U.S. missions need a 'street strategy.' Besides traditional diplomacy, embassies have to work harder at public diplomacy. Public policy is increasingly shaped by public opinion."*

*U.S. Ambassador to Morocco Edward Gabriel*

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The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) gives government public affairs specialists and other skilled individuals specialized training and keeps them in "reserve" status for deployment when natural disasters strike in the United States. Such a program could be adapted for use by foreign affairs agencies. Personnel with languages skills, media experience, and an understanding of public diplomacy could be brought in to staff crisis centers in Washington or be dispatched to hot spots abroad.



# A New Structure for a New Age

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*"As the United States prepares to enter the new millennium,  
its methods of traditional diplomacy are becoming less effective.  
A major overhaul of our foreign affairs agencies is overdue."*

Representative Benjamin A. Gilman  
Chairman, Committee on International Relations  
U.S. Congress

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**T**he consolidation of the Department of State and USIA presents a unique opportunity to create a new Foreign Affairs Department whose thinking and priorities capitalize on America's edge in the information age. President Clinton's plan to reorganize the foreign affairs agencies envisions a responsive and flexible diplomatic institution that is "better able to defend American interests and promote American values abroad."

A "reinvented" State Department must be able to deal as effectively with foreign publics as with foreign governments. It must foster effective government relations with the independent NGOs

that are building civil societies, and assisting countries making a transition to democracy and free markets. It must ensure that public diplomacy expertise and independent advice on foreign publics have a direct voice in America's foreign policy decisions. Substantial reforms of the Department of State's information and management systems must be undertaken to guarantee that the missions, budget and essential programs of public diplomacy are preserved and strengthened.

**The Commission recommends immediate action by the President, the Congress and the Secretary of State to restructure the State**



**Department and USIA, with public diplomacy as a core component of a new "reinvented" foreign affairs organization.**  
**(Recommendation #5)**

A Presidential Decision Directive (PDD), which would formalize the central role of public diplomacy in American foreign policy, is the indispensable first step. However, it is not enough on its own. The second step is to structurally incorporate into the Department of State public diplomacy as a more effective strategic dimension of the overall conduct of our foreign policy. This can be achieved by overhauling the Department of State's organizational and personnel structures to reflect existing diplomatic realities.

The Commission supports the current design that creates an Under Secretary of Public Diplomacy with the appropriate corresponding

functional bureaus. This will place public diplomacy on par with political, economic, and global affairs within the Department of State, and permit public diplomacy resources to continue to be dedicated towards overseas programs and strategies.

Most international issues have political, economic and public dimensions, and require a combination of government-to-government and government-to-people intervention by our diplomats. In today's "downsized" embassies, the work of diplomats has changed. No longer do political and economic officers spend most of their time seeking information, analyzing it, and sending it back to the State Department. In many countries, independent policy think tanks and increasingly open and professional media do this. Today, economic officers are engaged in promoting U.S.



**Voting line in Soweto, South Africa, during the nation's first all-race elections, April 27, 1994.**



exports, working on austerity packages, evaluating the economic implications of activities such as narco trafficking and terrorism, and other activities that put them directly in touch with business, governmental and other leaders. Political officers find that they, too, must explain U.S. policy to a much broader foreign audience. The potential for misunderstanding our message and its impact on what foreign publics believe about us in this era of almost instantaneous communications is great. Thus, public diplomacy specialists need to be in all places where policy is formulated and implemented.

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*...I think we can take a little bit of the U.S. thinking and put it off to the public and find a way to work with private citizens, businesses and organizations. We should expand today to reaching these numbers. We can put our message successful in private life. Those between individuals, businesses, universities, non-governmental organizations, tourists... will be the only patient."*

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Marc Caspary, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, and former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey

However, the existing Foreign Service promotion system at the Department of State, in effect, discourages multi functional officers. The Foreign Service personnel system is organized around "cones." State Department Foreign Service Officers, from the first day of their careers, are required to specialize as political officers, economic officers, consular officers or administrative officers (the four cones.) American diplomats are assigned overseas and in Washington D.C. based on their cone as well as their personnel rank and are rated for promotions against officers in their own cone. Although "cross-cone" assignments are permitted, such as a political officer serving as the consul general in an embassy, common wisdom dictates that "out of cone" assignments for political and economic officers make one less promotable rather than more.

**The Commission recommends that if the first five recommendations are implemented, then the political, economic and public diplomacy Foreign Service personnel "cones" should be merged so that there is public diplomacy input on all issues and at all levels. If not, then public diplomacy should be kept in a separate personnel "cone" lest the former USIA officers be absorbed by State's traditional concerns. (Recommendation #6)**

The vision expressed a year and a half ago in the congressional proposal and the President's decision to reorganize the foreign affairs agencies has still not translated into serious reinvention at the Department of State. The Commission is troubled by the lack of progress in achieving the sweeping rethinking of America's foreign policy apparatus. Even the pending legislation appears to provide "consolidation without reinvention."



# Developing<sup>the</sup> Diplomats of the Future

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*"We need a generation of young diplomats schooled in information diplomacy... we need diplomats who know the impact of the world, how it changes understanding among peoples and how it defines relationships between governments."*

— House Speaker Newt Gingrich

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The Department of State's National Foreign Affairs Training Center (NFATC) has traditionally given no attention to preparing Foreign Service Officers for interaction with non-governmental institutions and individuals overseas. It is critical to keep our diplomats skilled in modern diplomacy, which includes a myriad of state and nonstate actors reacting to and influencing as-it-happens international news, and building international coalitions subject to public approval. The Commission is amazed and troubled that State Department professional diplomats can currently spend their entire careers without receiving any

training in how to understand or deal with public attitudes, the press, or nongovernmental organizations.

Whether or not the foreign affairs agencies are to be consolidated, public diplomacy needs to become a central element in NFATC's "core curriculum." The Commission is encouraged that NFATC is in serious discussion with USIA concerning a course on public diplomacy to be offered in January 1999, initially to include Washington-based Foreign Service Officers and other officials who need to understand and use public diplomacy. The commission urges NFATC and





USIA to reach an agreement quickly concerning course modalities. Such public diplomacy training, which has not even been available, is now being proposed as an elective course. The Commission believes it should be mandatory for all Foreign Service Officers.

The Commission also calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to make public diplomacy experience and expertise major considerations in

the selection process for all American ambassadors. Strong public advocacy skills are absolutely essential for today's ambassadors. As the President's personal and principal representatives to other nations, America's ambassadors must be able to communicate persuasively with the people of those nations in person, on television, or through other media, and ideally in their own language. Our ambassadors can and should be our best public diplomats.

**The Department of State's National Foreign Affairs Training Center should include public diplomacy training for all foreign affairs personnel. Such training and skills should be made a criterion for advancement to senior levels of the Foreign Service as well as for the selection of American ambassadors. (Recommendation #7)**

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"If we don't get the people thing right, we lose: it's the most important thing in all our businesses."

Jack Welch, CEO, General Electric

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# Diplomacy in the Age of the Internet

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*"Public Diplomacy — using the most advanced tools of technology to explain America's principles and priorities to the world — will become evermore vital to the conduct of U.S. foreign policy as we enter the 21st century."*

— Vice President Gore

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The worldwide computer-driven information revolution is transforming the way people live, work, govern, and communicate. It is changing corporations, universities, the armed forces, and civil society. It has already blurred the distinction between domestic and international events, as illustrated by the Mexican Zapatista guerrilla commandant who makes demands simultaneously to the Mexican government and the world by Internet. Inevitably, this information revolution will transform embassies, the State Department, and diplomatic practices.

America's diplomats abroad need a global, high-speed, interactive digital network with adequate capacity for voice, video, and a wide range of data

communication with U.S. missions, NGOs, and local populations around the world. Such a network would allow all American embassies to have home pages which save considerable staff time on routine questions. It would facilitate "just in time" transmission of US policies and positions as well as statements by American leaders to influential foreign media. It would provide quick access to information via real time databases no matter what the time difference between an embassy and Washington. It would enhance collaboration across geographic boundaries on regional strategies and policies at no additional cost through wide-area networks.

One promising approach to such a telecommunications network is USIS 2000, USIA's



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**"There are two forces of historic significance that shape the world we live in: the information communications revolution, and the shift of power away from central government authority to individuals and publics who ...often have immediate ties through international communication that are changing the whole role and nature of government representation."**

Dr. Joseph Duffley  
Director, United States Information Agency

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satellite network pilot project that uses Very Small Aperture Terminal (VSAT) technology. For six months, USIA field-tested a network of VSAT terminals in four capitals: Accra, Ghana; Buenos Aires, Argentina; Rabat, Morocco, and Warsaw, Poland.

The final report of the pilot project, issued in August 1998 by the Office of Technology in USIA, reached the conclusion that the USIS 2000 satellite data network provides improved access to the Internet and other information services, better telephone circuits for voice, fax, and video teleconferencing, uses commercial off-the-shelf products, and is not susceptible to the problems of local telecommunications systems.

The pilot project also produced striking results on savings. USIA estimates the \$25 million in capital and operational costs over five years of the proposed 140-post global USIS 2000



Browsing the Net, on line at Dubai's Internet Cafe.

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conduct public opinion polls has greatly increased since 1995, research funds have actually decreased slightly, making it difficult to cover the basic policy requirements.

**The Commission recommends that OMB allocate an immediate increase of \$5 million for overseas opinion polling and attitude research. (Recommendation #9)**

With this additional funding, USIA's Office of Research and Media Reaction could do the following:

- *National polling* (urban and rural) in large countries like China and India, where only urban polls have been done even though the majority of Chinese and Indians live in rural areas.
- *Focus groups* that tell us why people think the way they do and give us in-depth understanding on topics such as terrorism and narcotics trafficking.

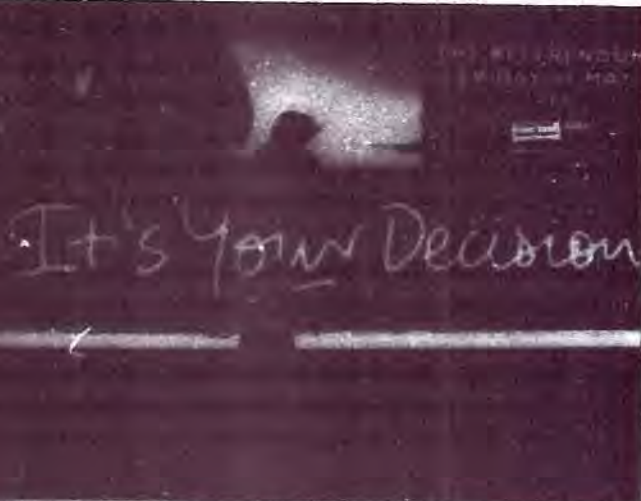
- *Flash polling* on critical issues immediately affecting U.S. foreign policy such as European attitudes about sanctions against Iraq or actions in Kosovo.

#### Foreign Opinion Research in a Reinvented State Department

USIA's Office of Research and Media Reaction is the only office of the U.S. government which carries out systematic polling of foreign publics on a full range of policy issues. It is the only U.S. government office that regularly disseminates such polling information to clients throughout the foreign policy community. The research and analysis it provides are essential for understanding foreign publics and designing effective public diplomacy strategies.

At this time, it is not clear where that office is to be located within a consolidated State Department. The Commission believes it should be a separate entity reporting directly to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy. Other possibilities are to report to or merge into State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) or the Bureau of Public Affairs (PA). The Commission finds these less desirable because INR does not deal routinely with foreign audiences and is State Department's link with the intelligence community, while PA is primarily concerned with the U.S. media.

**The Commission recommends that foreign public opinion polling and media reaction be maintained as a separate organizational element which reports directly to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy. (Recommendation #10)**



**Billboard encouraging Northern Ireland's citizens to vote on the Peace Agreement Referendum.**



# Global Public Opinion Research

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*"There are times the U.S. wants to deliver a specific message abroad.  
What is persuasive to us might seem illogical to foreigners.  
Polling can help craft a message that is logical and persuasive  
to foreign audiences."*

—Geoffrey Garin  
President, Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

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Understanding one's audience must precede any attempt to affect that audience's attitudes — a basic premise known to every political pollster and advertising executive. Hundreds of millions of dollars are spent every year in the United States alone on public opinion polling and marketing surveys. Yet, USIA spends only about \$5.5 million, out of an annual budget of approximately \$1 billion, on overseas public opinion research and polling, i.e., to understand what people in other nations think about issues of concern to the United States. There is a tendency for those who formulate foreign policy and practice public diplomacy to believe they "know" what people are thinking because of

their experience in the field. But there is nothing more valuable than possessing the empirical data necessary to provide a foundation to what one already "knows." USIA's polls of foreign public opinion are specifically on issues of importance to the United States, and thus generate information that is not commercially available elsewhere.

Even USIA's meager investment in understanding the views of publics overseas pays enormous dividends. USIA stepped in early to conduct public opinion polls in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Research over the past three years includes opinions on the Dayton Accords, Serbians' trust in their leaders, and



attitudes of Bosnians towards each other. It has provided critical input to American officials and soldiers trying to help bring peace to that troubled area. USIA's polling has helped the monitoring of the progress in knitting Bosnia back together, assessing whether tensions are easing, and gauging support for the U.S. troop presence. It is of critical help today in understanding the complex and tense relations between Serbia and Kosovo.

In Korea, another area of the world where thousands of American troops are stationed, recent USIA opinion poll results helped our ambassador and U.S. officials in Seoul be more effective in handling delicate issues such as the continued U.S. troop presence, the role of the United States and the IMF in Korea's recovery,

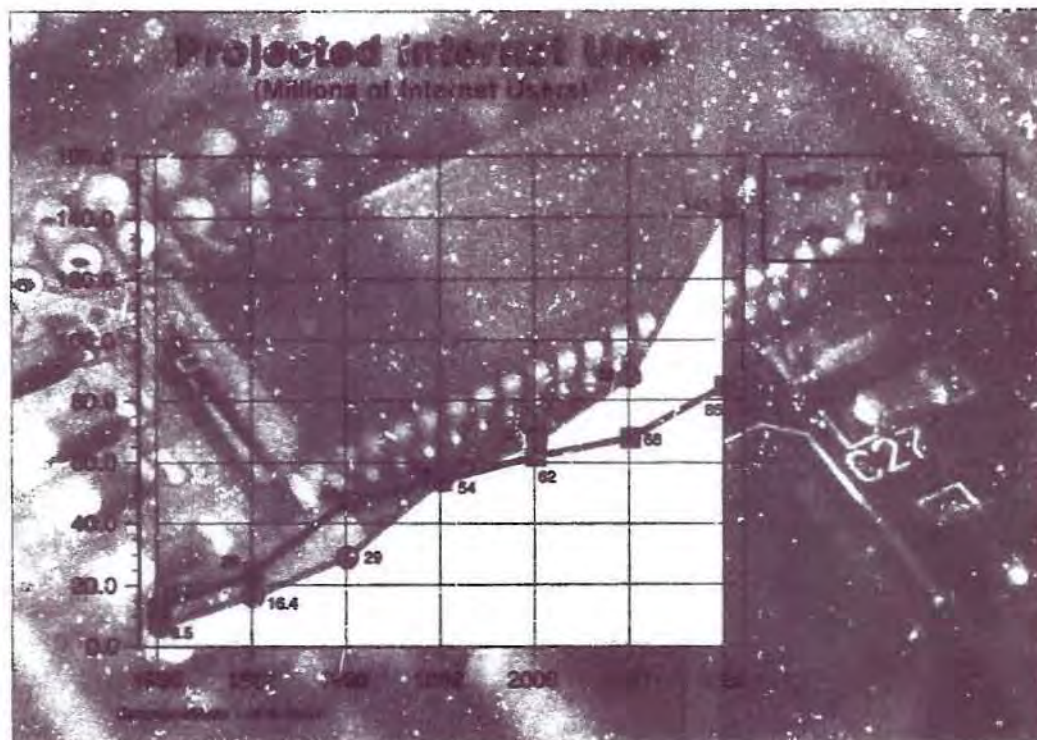
and the relative importance of China, Japan, and the United States to Korea's future.

USIA's research is used by the White House, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Advisor, the State Department, and the General Accounting Office, as well as USIA. Secretary of State Madeline Albright and NSC Advisor Samuel R. Berger have singled out USIA's opinion polling as being particularly useful. USIA officers use it to shape public diplomacy strategies around the world.

USIA's opinion research is a critical product which has consistently received high marks. However, the Commission believes that quite simply the Agency is not doing enough. Even though the number of countries where USIA can







system will achieve a cumulative \$76.8 million savings relative to a comparable system using the State Department's Diplomatic Telecommunications Service Program (DTS-PO).

In times of crisis, USIS 2000 also enables VSAT antenna to be installed quickly even where there is no functioning embassy -- for audio and video dialogue between official and unofficial Americans and their key foreign interlocutors.

This rapid, unclassified interactive network should be separate from and complementary to DTS-PO. DTS-PO's highest priority is closed, not open, communications. Its systems are designed for good reasons to provide secure, internal communication between Washington and installations overseas. It has done this well, but it is not able to provide fast, cost-effective services

that meet America's public diplomacy needs to communicate with foreign publics.

The Commission believes that the work towards building this telecommunications network should proceed in advance of and irrespective of the planned consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies.

**The Commission recommends that the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) allocate the necessary funds for the continuation and expansion of USIA's pilot project using the commercially available "VSAT" (Very Small Aperture Terminal) technology to connect embassies to the Internet, improve their telephone and data transmission lines, and provide video conferencing facilities. (Recommendation #8)**





## The United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

A Presidential Commission created by Congress in 1948 to provide bipartisan oversight of U.S. government activities intended to understand, inform, and influence foreign publics, the Commission reports to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, the USIA Director, and the American people.



**Current members of the Commission from left to right: Harold Pachios, Maria Elena Toranzo, Lewis Manilow, Charles Delan Jr., Paula Dobriansky, Hank Brown, and Penne Percy Korth.**



## Current Members

### **LEWIS MANILOW, CHAIRMAN OF ILLINOIS (DEMOCRAT)**

Mr. Manilow is a lawyer with broad experience in public policy, business, politics, and the arts. He serves on the boards of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the Progressive Policy Institute, and the Visiting Committee of the University of Chicago's Harris School of Public Policy. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Manilow has participated in election monitoring and democratization projects in numerous countries. He is one of the founders and former president of the Museum of Contemporary Art of Chicago, a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago, and honorary President of the Goodman Theatre. In 1996, Mr. Manilow received an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Governors State University.

President Clinton designated Mr. Manilow to serve as the Commission's chairman in March, 1994. He was a member of the Commission from 1979 to 1983.

### **CHARLES H. DOLAN, JR., VICE CHAIRMAN OF VIRGINIA (DEMOCRAT)**

Charles H. Dolan, Jr., senior vice president, Ketchum Public Relations Worldwide, was a member of the Clinton for President Exploratory Committee and served as the state chairman of the Virginia Clinton-Gore campaigns in 1992 and 1996. He is the former executive director of the Democratic Governors' Association, where for seven years he was responsible for the election and reelection of Democratic governors in all 50 states.

Mr. Dolan is a member of the Board of Advisors of the Democratic Leadership Council, a member of the European Union's Team 92, and a senior councillor with the Atlantic Council of the United States.

Prior to his work with the Democratic Governors' Association, Mr. Dolan served as a special assistant to the U.S. Congress with responsibility for appropriations subcommittees on Justice, Commerce, and Foreign Operations.

Mr. Dolan received his Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and is a graduate of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where he received an M.P.A. in Government and Business.

### **HAROLD C. PACHIOS OF MAINE (DEMOCRAT)**

Mr. Pachios is a partner in the law firm of Preti, Flaherty, Beliveau & Pachios. He served in the Kennedy administration as public affairs officer and congressional liaison officer for the Peace Corps. He was associate White House press secretary in the Johnson administration, serving as principal aide to Press Secretary Bill Moyers. Mr. Pachios was chairman of the Maine Democratic Party for four years, and was Democratic nominee for Congress in Maine's first Congressional District in 1980.

He has served as president of the Board of Trustees of the Portland Symphony Orchestra, president of the National Committee for Symphony Orchestra Support, and vice chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Symphony Orchestra League. He is a trustee of the American College of Greece, chairman of the Board of Visitors of the University of Maine School of Law, a fellow of the Maine Bar Foundation, and a board member of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. He has been a trustee of the Maine College of Art and the Maine Maritime Academy, and served as director of the Portland Boys Club.

### **MARIA ELENA TORAÑO OF FLORIDA (DEMOCRAT)**

Ms. Toraño is chairman and chief executive officer of META, a management consulting, information technologies, engineering, and environmental services company. She also is president and CEO of METEC, an asset management company. Ms. Toraño served in the Carter Administration as associate director for public affairs at the U.S. Community Services Administration. Previously, she was president of the National Association of Spanish Broadcasters and director of Latin American Affairs at the University of Miami.

She is a trustee of St. Thomas University in Florida and a director of the Hispanic TeleNetwork. She also serves on the University of Miami Government Affairs and Public Policy Commission and the Visiting Committee of the Graduate School of International Studies.



**PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY  
OF VIRGINIA (REPUBLICAN)**

The Honorable Paula J. Dobriansky is vice president and director of the Washington Office of the Council on Foreign Relations. She is a former associate director for policy and programs at the United States Information Agency (USIA) and a former deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs.

Dr. Dobriansky previously served as senior international affairs and trade advisor at the law firm of Hunton & Williams, adjunct fellow at the Hudson Institute, and co-chair of the International TV Council at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Dr. Dobriansky was also deputy head of the U.S. Delegation to the 1990 Copenhagen Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the 1985 U.N. Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, and director of European and Soviet affairs at the National Security Council.

Dr. Dobriansky received a B.S.F.S. *summa cum laude* in International Politics from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Soviet political/military affairs from Harvard University. She is a Fulbright-Hays Scholar, a Ford and Rotary Foundation Fellow, and a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

**HANK BROWN  
OF COLORADO (REPUBLICAN)**

Hank Brown became the 10<sup>th</sup> president of the University of Northern Colorado in July 1998. Before becoming UNC's President, he served Colorado in the United States Senate. He was elected in 1990 and retired from the Senate in 1996. Before the Senate, Brown served five consecutive terms in Congress (1980-90), representing Colorado's Fourth Congressional District. He also served in the Colorado Senate from 1972-76 and was elected Assistant Majority Leader in 1974.

After retiring from the Senate, he became co-director of the University of Denver's Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues. He taught and contributed to the center's white papers on NATO expansion and welfare reform. While in the Senate, Brown taught graduate-level public policy courses at Georgetown University and political science courses at Catholic University in Washington, D.C.

Hank Brown earned a bachelor's degree in accounting from the University of Colorado in 1961 and a Juris Doctorate degree from the University of Colorado Law School in 1969. While in Washington, Senator Brown earned a Master of Law degree in 1986 from George Washington University and became a certified public accountant in 1988.

Hank Brown served in the U.S. Navy from 1962-66 and was a decorated forward air controller in Vietnam. Brown was a vice president of Monfort of Colorado from 1969 to 1980.

**PENNE PERCY KORTH  
OF WASHINGTON, D.C. (REPUBLICAN)**

Penne Korth was nominated by President Clinton to the position of Commissioner on the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy in 1997. Prior to this, President Bush appointed her to the position of United States Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Mauritius where she served from 1989-1992.

In 1988, President Bush chose Mrs. Korth as his first woman appointment to co-chair the American Bicentennial Presidential Inaugural. From 1993 to 1997, her Washington and international experience led her to the co-founding of Firestone and Korth Ltd., a corporate consulting and events management firm in Washington, D.C.

Ambassador Korth currently serves on the boards of Chevy Chase Bank, Meridian International Center, the Council of American Ambassadors, the Marjorie Merriweather Post Foundation, D.C., the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, the Van Cliburn Foundation, and is vice chairman of the Washington Round Table of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. In addition, Ambassador Korth is an International Representative for Sotheby's Art and Auction House, a consultant in private banking for Chevy Chase Bank, and is a member of the U.S./Mauritius Business Council.



## Current and Previous Members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

NAME	CHAIRMAN	STATE	TENURE
Lewis Manilow	1994 - Present	Illinois	1994 - Present and 1979 - 83
Paula J. Dobriansky		Virginia	1997 - Present
Hank Brown		Colorado	1997 - Present
Penne Percy Korth		Washington, D.C.	1997 - Present
Harold C. Pachios		Maine	1994 - Present
Maria Elena Torano		Florida	1994 - Present
Charles H. Dolan, Jr.		Virginia	1994 - Present
Walter R. Roberts		Washington, D.C.	1991 - 1997
Pamela J. Turner		Virginia	1991 - 1997
William J. Hybl		Colorado	1990 - 1997
Tom C. Korologos	1991 - 94	Virginia	1981 - 94
Lewis W. Douglas, Jr.		Colorado	1991 - 94
Richard B. Stone		Washington, D.C.	1990 - 92
Louis B. Susman		Illinois	1988 - 91
Priscilla L. Buckley		Connecticut	1984 - 91
Hershey Gold		California	1983 - 91
Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.	1982 - 91	Virginia	1982 - 94
Richard M. Scaife		Pennsylvania	1983 - 90
Herbert Schmertz		New York	1984 - 88
e. robert (bob) wallach		California	1983 - 88
Mae Sue Talley		Arizona	1979 - 84
Leonard L. Silverstein	1981 - 82	Maryland	1979 - 84
Neal Sherbourne		Minnesota	1979 - 83
Jean McKee		New York	1979 - 82
John Hope Franklin		Illinois	1979 - 81
Olin Robison	1978 - 81	Vermont	1978 - 81

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy is the successor to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information and the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, both of which were authorized by the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. Members of those earlier advisory commissions include, among others, the following distinguished Americans:

William F. Buckley, Jr.	John W. Gardner	Justin Miller
Erwin D. Canham	Rita E. Hauser	James A. Michener
Dorothy B. Chandler	Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh	Philip D. Reed
David Derge	Hobart Lewis	J. Leonard Reinsch
Mark E. Ethridge	Leonard H. Marks	William French Smith
George H. Gallup	Mark A. May	Frank Stanton



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The Members of the Commission wish to acknowledge the significant contributions made by Mr. Bruce Gregory, former staff director, who is temporarily on assignment to the National Defense University, Washington, D.C., where he is teaching public diplomacy to a future generation of military leaders. For over nineteen years, he has been a valued advisor, confidant, and friend to the Commission. Mr. Gregory, with the support of the Commission's staff, made it possible for us to fulfill our mission. We look forward to Mr. Gregory's return to the Commission at the conclusion of his teaching assignment.

The Commission is grateful to Dr. Walter Roberts, senior advisor, who served as a member of the Commission from 1991 to 1997. His thoughtful advice, anchored in a distinguished career in USIA's diplomatic service, has been critical during many junctures in Commission deliberations.

The Commission also wishes to thank Ms. Barbara Long, a USIA graphics designer, for the design and layout of this report.

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